1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

174 the symbol meaning "place of,"[1] is found in several of the ancient codices. The Codex Mendoza[2] lists Tepoztlán as one of the *pueblos* conquered by the Aztecs under the elder Montezuma. The Codex Aubin-Goupil[3] states that in 1487 new "kings" were installed in Cuauhnahuac, Tepoztlán, Huaxtepec, and Xilotepec. Cuauhnahuac was one of the first of the neighboring *pueblos* to be conquered by the Aztecs; this town, and presumably also Tepoztlán, became tributary to Tenochtitlan. The glyphs on the ruined *teocalli*,[4] situated just above the town, contain the name of Ahuitzotl, Aztec war chief, and a date which has been correlated with modern chronology to read 1502 A.D.,[5] the last year of his tenure of office.

[172]

776 Some one of the many gods generally shared by the highland *pueblos* of Mexico was regarded as the special protector of each one of the villages. That deity particularly associated with Tepoztlán was Ome Tochtli ("Two Rabbit"), the god generally described as that of drunkenness,[6] but probably one also with genera-

[103]

[1] *Tepoztli* in Nahuatl meant "ax" and "copper"—and after the coming of the Spaniards, also "iron." *Tlan* means "near," and is a common place-ending. Rebus fashion, it is written by the picture of the incisor teeth (*tlantli*). Early writings refer to the manufacture and trade in copper axes by the pre-Columbian Tepoztecans.

[2] Plate IX of the Kingsborough reproduction.

[3] So says Edward Seler, art., "Die Tempelpyramide von Tepoztlan," p. 124.

[4] *Novello, Guia para visitar las principales ruinas arqueologicas del estado de Morelos*, pp. 3–15.

[5] The year *Macuilli Tochtli* ("Ten Rabbit") (see Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 125).

[6] "This is an illustration of a grand debauch which a pueblo called Tepoztlán celebrates as a ceremony. The custom was that when any Indian dies drunk, the others of this pueblo held a grand ceremony, with axes of copper, which they use for cutting wood in their hands. This pueblo is part of Yautepec, and its in-

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

tive attributes. The *teocalli* just referred to was presumably a temple of this god; his symbol appears on one of the glyphs. This temple is but one of a number of pre-Columbian structures which still exist on both sides of the present village of Tepoztlán. It was called to the attention of the scientific world by a native of the village, Ing. D. Francisco Rodriguez, in 1895, when it was cleared and studied.[1]

The god of the temple in his capacity as patron of Tepoztlán, or perhaps another closely associated with Ome Tochtli, was known as Tepoztecatl.[2] This name survives today in Tepoztlán as that of a legendary chieftain of the ancient *pueblo*. The ruined *teocalli* on the cliff above the town is known as the "house of Tepozteco." A number of tales, some of which are told not only locally but in other villages of South-Central Mexico, deal with the miraculous birth and heroic adventures of Tepoztecatl.[3] At a *fiesta* held once a year in Tepoztlán, a dance-drama commemorates the val-

habitants were vassals of the Marquis of the Valley" (commentary to p. 38 of the Codex Magliabecchi, trans. T. T. Waterman and published [1903] by the University of California Press as *The Book of Life of the Ancient Mexicans*).

[1] See Seler, *op. cit.*; Marshall H. Saville, art., "The Temple of Tepoztlán"; Francisco Rodriguez, art., "Descripción de la piramide llamada Casa del Tepozteco"; Manuel Miranda y Marron, art., "Una excursión a Tepoztlán, Morelos. El teocalli de Ometochtli."

[2] His representation appears on p. 23 of the manuscript in the National Library of Florence. The face, of two colors, bears a semilunar nose ornament (*yacametztli*); the figure carries a shield and a hatchet. Early references to Tepoztecatl are collected by González Casanova, in art., "El ciclo legendario del Tepoztecatl," pp. 18–25.

[3] Three stories of this character, two from Tepoztlán and one from Milpa Alta, Distrito Federal, are published in Nahuatl text and Spanish translation by P. González Casanova, *op. cit.*

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

orous defense of Tepoztlán by Tepoztecatl against the attacks of neighboring *pueblos*. These tales and this ritual are but dim echoes of ancient memories, although they constitute an important part of the more ancient lore; they lie upon the margins of attention in the Tepoztlán of today.

A document apparently written in 1580[1] gives some information as to Tepoztlán before and just after the Conquest. The inhabitants sold in neighboring *pueblos* the wood that abounded on their hillsides and the lime to be found in their territory. Their principal industry was the making of paper of fiber obtained from a tree. The name of this commodity (*amatl*) survives today in the name of one of the villages in the valley (Amatlan), and the grooved-stone pulp-beaters used in the ancient industry are among the commonest of pre-Columbian artifacts to be encountered in the valley.

The Spaniard first entered Tepoztlán in 1521. In that year, the same which saw the subjugation of Tenochtitlan, Cortés passed through Tepoztlán on his way to Cuernavaca from Yautepec. "There we found many pretty women and much loot," says Bernal Díaz del Castillo. As certain Yautepec chieftains there seeking refuge would not give themselves up, the Spaniards set fire to half the town.[2] Later, Tepoztlán

[1] The "Relación de Tepoztlán," published by Francisco Plancarte in the *Boletin oficial y revista eclesiastica del obispado de Cuernavaca*, X, 313–17, 326–31, and 348–52, and cited in Miguel Salinas, art., "La Sierra de Tepoztlán," pp. 362 ff.

[2] Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, Book X, chap. cxliv (IV, 67, of the Hakluyt translation).

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

was one of the *pueblos* awarded to Cortés as *encomienda*.[1] After his death the village was reputedly the residence of his son, Martin Cortés; and fragments of heavy wall opposite the chapel of La Santísima are pointed out as vestiges of his house.

Tepoztlán was not the seat of resident Catholic missionaries in the first years following the Conquest.[2] The priests of Yautepec and Oaxtepec, too busy in these *pueblos* to give spiritual attention to Tepoztlán, asked the viceroy[3] to send missionaries to Tepoztlán; and some time during the third quarter of the sixteenth century this was done. The region which now forms the state of Morelos was divided into three zones, running from north to south: the western zone was intrusted to the Franciscans, the eastern to the Augustinians, and the central zone to the Dominicans. Tepoztlán fell within the central zone. The Dominicans at once began the conversion of the natives and the construction of the great church and accompanying monastery, which still stand today, little changed.[4]

The conversion of the Tepoztecos was intrusted to Fr. Domingo de la Anunciación. He was a Dominican priest of more than ordinary repute; he had taken part

[1] *Colección de documentos inéditos del Real Archivo de Indias*, XII, 554–63.

[2] A historical sketch of Tepoztlán is included by Miguel Salinas in *op. cit.* His account is based on the "Relación de Tepoztlán," just cited, on an old document then in the possession of José G. González, native and priest of Tepoztlán—two sources not directly available to the present writer—and on information supplied Salinas by residents of the *pueblo*. The historical data included in the rest of this chapter are drawn from Salinas' account.

[3] Luis de Velasco, who held office from 1550 to 1564.

[4] The González document states that the church was completed in 1588.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

of booths at which are being sold fruit, cakes, notions, ices, drinks, green corn.[1] People have come from distant *pueblos* to sell the products of their domestic industry—little painted clay toys and whistles. At the gateway to the churchyard one may buy wax candles for the *santo*.

The *chirimía* is playing at the house of the *mayordomo* of the *castillo;* this is set off the evening of the first day.

May 9–15.—The remainder of the week is devoted to secular entertainment: cockfights, horse races, and three days of *toros*.

June 11.—The *chirimía* plays on the chapel of La Santísima and with it plays the *teponaztli* owned by that *barrio*.

June 12.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of La Santísima. It is not an important *fiesta*. The people of the *barrio* eat *mole verde* and *tamales*.

Now the rains have come. Every afternoon the clouds gather over the rim of the valley and the hills are hidden in a low roof of mist. The slopes run with cascades and jets of rain. The air is wet and soft. The ground, long dry and barren, is covered with bright green, and every cranny in the rocks has its unrolling fern.

The rains are brought by the *ahuahque*,[2] "the lords of the rain." They hurl the thunderbolts; the stone beads and spindle whorls one picks up were thrown by

[1] Brought from lower altitudes where it is already ripe.

[2] The *ahuahque* are also referred to as *tlatlatcuapone*, "those who thunder," and as *tlapetani*, "those who cause lightning."

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

821 776 [172] [301] them from the sky. They covet gold; now that the rains have begun and the voices of the *ahuahque* are frequently heard, women who most fear them take off their gold earrings for fear that the *ahuahque* might strike them dead so as to take the jewels.

243 [221] People are busy now, and contented. There is work for all the men in the *milpas*. The ground is prepared with a wooden plow. For new-broken or very stony earth there are a few steel plowshares. Oxen, less commonly horses or mules, draw the plow. By now the corn is a foot high up at San Juan, but in Tepoztlán a hotter sun demands that the maize be planted after the rains have come. By the middle of June most of the *milpas* are planted. At San Juan the grain is [184] dropped into holes made with a pointed stick. In Tepoztlán it is dribbled along in furrows; afterward the earth is heaped up around the young plant with the *coa*, the flat hoe with a curved blade.

*796 [533] *June 15.*—The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the Templo Mayor because tomorrow is the *fiesta* of Corpus Christi.

[439] [484] *In May or June.*—This is the day of the *fiesta* of Corpus Christi, *Jueves de corpos*. Some go to Yautepec or to Cuernavaca to buy little *burros* made of straw bearing crates of fruits and sweets.

[776] *July 22.*—This is the day of the *fiesta* of the hamlet of Amatlán. (This is the saint day of Mary Magdalene, patron of this village.)

[535] *July 25.*—This is the day of the *fiesta* of the village of Santiago. *Los Apaches* dance at both these *fiestas*.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

CHAPTER XII

THE FOLK IN A CITY WORLD

In Mexico, as in European countries with more or less illiterate peasant populations, the sharpest cultural differences are not between one region and another but between the city people and the country people. This difference is, of course, even greater in those Latin-American countries where the city people derive their traditions from, and continue to communicate with, the European world, while the country people are largely Indian in tradition and do not easily communicate with the city. It is a circumstance of importance that the same classes, based upon the degree of familiarity with city ways, exist, on a much smaller scale, in Tepoztlán. They have already been several times referred to in these pages as *los correctos* and *los tontos*. The periodic revolutions afford, it would seem, a mechanism whereby this difference between the classes is from time to time re-emphasized and the tendency for them to merge is checked.

It is probable that these classes have existed for centuries in Tepoztlán. Tradition says that Martin Cortés, son of the conqueror, lived for a time in Tepoztlán and used the chapel of La Santísima as his private oratory. Certain heavy stone walls and ruined arches across the street from this chapel are pointed out as the vestiges of his residence. When he and his

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

dependents came there, they must at once have constituted an aristocracy of Spanish culture. This must have been but one of a series of periods of development and partial sophistication that were successively interrupted by periods of disorder. There are other fragments of heavy wall at the north side of the town; all memories of their meaning have apparently disappeared. The latest of these eras of order and urbanization was coincident with the Díaz régime. In the middle of the nineteenth century a family of educated people moved to Tepoztlán from another state. This family contributed the priest, a teacher, and several other members of the Tepoztecan intelligentsia. During this period the first secular school was opened. Several attempts were made to publish local newspapers.[1] In 1895 Francisco Rodriguez, a Tepoztecan who was educated as an engineer, called the attention of the scientific world to the large pre-Columbian temple situated above the town, and reported upon it to the International Congress of Americanists.[2] The work of excavation was done largely by Tepoztecan volunteers. A museum was established in

[1] "More than a half a century ago, nevertheless, literary productions were published in Tepoztlán; nevertheless, the press has hardly been introduced to the population. We remember, for example, 'El Xocoyotzin' of Don José Guadalupe Rojas,—a man never well understood,—a small periodical which was devoted to adult and infant education. A little later, with the introduction of a press in 1882, appeared in the public light 'El Liliputiense,' 'El Mosquito,' 'El Grano de Arena' and still others which were devoted to the development of culture and the illumination of the people" (*El Tepozteco*, a newspaper published by Tepoztecos in Mexico City in 1921, issue of October 1).

[2] F. Rodriguez, art., "Descripción de la pyramide llamada Casa del Tepozteco. . . . ."

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

one of the public buildings. German and North American scientists visited the archaeological ruins and incidentally the town; indeed, the railroad ran special excursion trains to El Parque.

This period of brilliance, like, no doubt, other earlier periods of the sort, was terminated by revolution—that of 1910. Perhaps no other part of Mexico was so swept by the fury of war as was Morelos. For years this state was the scene of sanguinary encounters between Zapatistas and Carranzistas. The railroads were torn up, the sugar mills destroyed, and most of the cattle exterminated. During almost two years Tepoztlán was entirely depopulated except when federal or Zapatista troops occupied the town. Almost all the more substantial houses were partly or entirely destroyed. The little museum was wrecked and its contents scattered. After people began to return, there was a long period of suffering from famine and sickness.[1]

[1] A Zapatista soldier who spent eight years in the campaign, part of this time in the neighborhood of Tepoztlán, his home, described the period thus: "In the time of the revolution, for a long period, Tepoztlán was entirely depopulated. The people went to Mexico, or to the hills. The hills north of the town are full of caves where people lived. Some built lean-tos of cornstalks under big trees. For a time there was enough food. We used to come down from the hills at night to get corn. If there was anybody in the town, it would be Federal troops. We would go very quietly, listening. If we heard nothing, we entered and took the corn. The people who owned fruit trees would come down from the hills by night to rob their own trees.

"The hills were the populated places, the towns the wild places. So we went into the towns to hunt. One day we were out of food. My colonel asked me and some others to get a deer. But I said, 'There are no more deer in the hills. We must go to the towns for a deer.' So we went down into Santiago and there, among the banana trees, we found and killed a deer.

"Later on the food gave out. The cows and bulls had been hunted down and

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

This use of the language as a symbol of the Indian heritage has helped to give the movement a racial rather than a nationalistic character.

After the revolution of 1910–23 few of *los correctos* returned to Tepoztlán. Most of those who did go back went back to employ the practical and commercial experience they had acquired in the city in order to earn a living in Tepoztlán. They are the artisans and merchants there today. Of the six men who were most instrumental in organizing the colony of Tepoztecan *émigrés*—the group of intelligentsia—only one returned. Except two teachers, he was the only real intellectual living in Tepoztlán at the time of these observations. The substance of his life-history gives in a specific case the experience passed through by that type of individual who springs from the folk, is no longer entirely at home in it and yet can never quite leave it, and who suffers the conflict and disorganization of his position, with one foot in one world and the other foot in another.[1]

R. G. was born in Tepoztlán about forty-six years ago. He is apparently a pure-blooded Indian. His father was poor, but, like the other Tepoztecans, had his *milpa*. He was a man of some education, and, after the federal government had taken charge of the pre-Columbian ruins above the town, he was made "keeper of the monuments" at three *pesos* a day. The son, R., lived in Tepoztlán until he was nineteen years old. Up to that time his only schooling was that of the little local public school. In his own words, he "lived like an animal," running about and having a good time with the other boys but with no ideas or aims direct-

[1] Dr. Robert E. Park has called this type the "marginal man" (art., "Migration and the Marginal Man").

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

feathers. He offered instead to write and deliver an oration in Nahuatl pointing out the beauties of the Nahuatl language. 159 369

By the time the revolution was over R. G. had four children. Their situation in Mexico City was fairly comfortable. But he was only one of a mass of low-paid white-collar employees with little opportunity to gain recognition now that the Tepoztecan colony was broken up, and he had felt more intensely than most the desires to, as he put it, "lift up my homeland out of the sink into which it has fallen." Just then his father, who was living in Tepoztlán as "keeper of the monuments," died, and R. G. asked for and secured the post for himself. He returned to Tepoztlán, to the job, the house, and the *milpa* of his father. In spite of the misgivings of his wife, who is a city person and had moreover her own family in Mexico City, he transported himself and family, a few pieces of furniture, and the Nahuatl grammar to the mud-floored, windowless *adobe* house that had been his birthplace. He launched at once into his efforts at civic reform, promoting new roads, new street lights, and a school for the instruction of Nahuatl. He met with the apathy and often open amusement of his townspeople. The practical reforms ended with the installation of a few gasoline lamps. The school failed because, he says, "it was opposed by the priest." In Mexico City R. G. had become an atheist and anticlerical. He was equally out of sympathy with the small radical political group, who are *tontos*. 565 172 653 185 668 665

By the end of his fifth year in Tepoztlán he was thoroughly uncomfortable in both body and soul. His wife, suffering from the hardships of the primitive mode of life, was an invalid, dragging herself out of bed in order to do the necessary work about the house. She was extremely isolated, for she had not been able to adjust or interest herself in the life of the town. Her only desire was to get back to Mexico City. Her husband, a more sanguine person, was at times hopeful and passionately enthusiastic, at times profoundly disillusioned. To himself he is a figure in Tepoztlán, but one who goes unrecognized; and toward *los tontos* he maintains an attitude which some of them feel to be patronizing and critical, while he moves among them making elaborate jokes in Nahuatl. He is a lively, agreeable person but sensitive and proud. He is disillusioned, yet he continues to hope for the

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

types of categories of cultivable land according to productivity. The distribution of these land classes is shown in Fig. 5.

First-class land produces an average of about two *cargas* of corn on the cob for every *cuartillo* of seed planted. This is by far the best land, and it is located in the valley bottoms where seasonal streams bring down the rich fertilizing materials from the monte and forests. The soil on this land is dark brown to black. Less than five per cent of the land of plow agriculture is of this type. Second-class land produces on the average of one *carga* of corn on the cob for every *cuartillo* of seed planted. This land slopes more and is more eroded; it accounts for about forty-five per cent of the cultivable land.[4] The soils are sandier and vary from light brown to reddish. Third-class lands produce on the average of about one-half a *carga* of corn on the cob for every *cuartillo* of seed planted, and account for another forty-five per cent of the cultivable land. These lands have the steepest slope and are the most eroded. It is on these lands that rock terraces, said to be of pre-Conquest times, are used to prevent the complete washing away of the soils. The soil on this land is yellowish and very stony. Frequently the rock-bottom *tepetate* is only a few inches from the surface. (See Fig. 6.)

TABLE 2. Land types and areas according to agrarian Census of 1937.

Land Types	Areas (in Hectares)	Percentage of Total Land Area of Municipio
Monte Alto	11,400	44.0
Monte Bajo	5,750	22.0
En cerril accidental inútil para la agricultura	3,010	11.0
Terrenos de temporal de primero	675	3.8
Terrenos de temporal de segundo y tercero	5,075	19.1
Total	25,910	

From the foregoing materials we can see that the municipio of Tepoztlán is not a single natural or geographic unit.[5] Hills and mountains break it up and form barriers between the villages. Thus Tepoztlán is separated from the village of San Juan to the north by one group of hills and from San Andrés to the southwest by another. Santo Domingo, to the southeast of Tepoztlán, is nestled high up in a pocket in the mountain wall and is more or less isolated from all the other villages of the municipio. Only three of the villages, Ixcatepec, Santiago, and Tepoztlán proper, are located within a single valley and drained by the same stream. The re-

[4] Although there is some evidence in early sixteenth-century documents examined by the writer which points to a greater productivity of the land at that time, it is interesting to note that the description of the lands of the municipio in the first land title of 1548 describes the lands as rocky, sterile, and ill suited for agriculture. Furthermore, the greater portion of the lands was described as "sitios de ganado menor" and "sitios de ganado mayor" which may indicate that the Spaniards viewed the land resources of Tepoztlán as best suited for grazing.

[5] Redfield's references to the municipio as "a natural community" and as a "valley community" tend to give the municipio a geographic unity which it does not in fact have. Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 59.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

(peak of light), *El Ehecatepetl* (peak of air), *El Cihuapapolotzin* (peak of the butterfly), *El Tlamintepetl* (peak of the wounded), *El Chalchitepetl* (peak of the treasure), and *El Ocelotepetl* (peak of the tiger). One of these *cerros* has been an important archaeological site since 1895, when a stone temple of a Tepoztecan deity was unearthed. This temple and the great scenic beauty of the village has attracted many tourists in recent years.

The *cerros* which surround the village form a natural fortress, and the rugged hilly country of which they are a part has served as a refuge from attack at various times in the history of Tepoztlán and is ideally suited for guerrilla warfare. According to ancient Tepoztecan legend the *cerros* served as defensive outposts against hostile peoples long before the Conquest. When the Spaniards first came to the village in 1521, Tepoztecans fled to the *cerros;* and more recently during the Revolution of 1910-20, when Tepoztlán was the scene of intermittent guerrilla warfare between Zapatista and federal soldiers, Tepoztecans again sought refuge in the *cerros.*

The location of Tepoztlán in an intermediate position between *tierra fría* and *tierra caliente* gives it the advantages of an excellent climate and a rich semi-tropical flora without the disadvantages of the cold to the north or the tropical heat to the south. Tepoztecans are aware of these advantages and consider themselves

Fig. 7. Tepoztlán, seen from cliffs to the north.

2;Lewis E.5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

174 114 621 [794]

political, and judicial functions of the *calpolli* fell into desuetude. But the social and religious functions, conflicting with none of the Spanish forms, and coinciding in some measure with the current Spanish notion of a church parish, continued in Tepoztlán, as no doubt in other *pueblos*, to this day.[10]

The evidence cited by Redfield in support of this speculation is a portion of a recitation in Náhuatl which reads, "Here I am surrounded by my four mountains, seven hills, seven wells and seven stony hillsides." From this Redfield concludes, "This is clearly a reference, in topographic terms, to the *barrios*."[11] This interpretation is not acceptable, since the seven barrios are not each associated with a stony hillside. Nor does each barrio have its own well.

While there can be no doubt that the village is pre-Hispanic, I believe that the present-day layout with its barrio divisions is almost certainly post-Conquest. This conclusion is based primarily upon an analysis of sixteenth-century documents in which the seven barrios are not mentioned, and is partially confirmed by local tradition and some recent archaeological work. These sources suggest that before the Spanish Conquest the village was much more spread out, with numerous small population clusters settled along the valley near the *cerros* where there was an adequate water supply. In a document of 1580,[12] we find that the seat of the village was at a site called *Tetlán*, a site which is known today as being outside of the village limits, to the west. When the road to Cuernavaca was being built in 1935 and 1936, ceramic deposits and other evidence of habitation were unearthed at this spot. In the map (Fig. 16), I have located a number of sites which show some evidence of having been inhabited and which are believed to be pre-Hispanic settlement sites. Some of these sites are mentioned in a document of 1550 which gives the *sitios* and *estancias* which paid tribute to Tepoztlán. I have identified many of these house site names within the village today, but others are known only as the names of sites out in the fields and near the *cerros* as shown in Fig. 16. Still others could not be identified at all.

174 361 621 [172]

On the basis of this evidence, it is suggested that the Spaniards brought together the population clusters from the outlying settlements to control the people and to facilitate taxation.[13] That this was a general Spanish policy is clear from other sources.[14] A few informants felt certain that this is what had happened in

[10] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 76-77.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[12] Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, *Relación de la Villa de Tepuztlan* in *Papeles de Nueva España*, Segunda Serie, Geografía y Estadística, Tomo VI (Madrid, 1905), p. 244—this valuable document will be referred to as *Relación* in the pages that follow. It is one of our best sources for the culture of Tepoztlán prior to the Spanish Conquest. It was prepared in 1580 by village officials with the aid of Tepoztecan informants, in response to a questionnaire sent out to all villagers of New Spain by Philip II. [104]

[13] In a document—*Hospital de Jesús*, Leg. 289, Exp. 100—dated March 2, 1551, we find a complaint, made by an investigator sent to Tepoztlán by the *corregidor*, to the effect that there were still some outlying "barrios" not listed in the Tepoztlán census. It was explained that this was done by the natives to cheat the government of taxes.

[14] See Dan Stanislowski, "Early Spanish Town Planning in the New World," *Geographical Review*, 37 (1947), 94-105.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

174
361
621
[172]

a. Tepoztlan
b. Cementerio
c. Ixcatepec
d. Tlawiltepetl
e. Ocelotsin
f. Chochiltepetl

1. PYRAMID OF TEPOSTEKO
2. TLAKWAPA
3. AXITLA
4. MAKPALOSTOK
5. TENECHKALKO
6. TLATLAKAPA
7. TEXOHKO
8. TEOPANSOLKO
9. KOSKATSINKO
10. TEKWESKONTITLA
11. MEETSTITLA
12. TEXKATSO
13. TLAXOMOLKO
14. TEMASATITLA
15. ACHICHIPIKO
16. MESOHKILA

Fig. 16. Possible sites of pre-Hispanic settlements.

Tepoztlán and suggested some of the settlement sites from which the present-day barrios were formed.

The *Relación* describes the village in some detail and gives the names and legends associated with each of the villages of the municipio, but it says nothing of barrios within the village itself. In fact none of the sixteenth-century documents mention the present-day barrios. However, in a document of 1579 [15] there is mention of four barrios of Tepoztlán: Atenco, Teycapan, Olac, and Pochitlán. These are listed as separate from the "capital" or Tepoztlán proper, suggesting that they were settlements outside of the village which were later incorporated into the village.[16] Atenco is identified by informants as the present-day barrio of Santo Domingo. The other barrios could not be identified by our informants but they are mentioned repeatedly in the early documents, appearing for the first time in a document dated 1551.[17]

[15] *Indios*, Vol. 1, Exp. 251.

[16] This interpretation is also suggested by documents which make it clear that the term "barrio" was used to designate a settlement outside of the village which did not have independent status. For the latter they used "estancia." A plaque in the church of the outlying village of Ixcatepec tells that the village was a "barrio" of Tepoztlán until 1732 when the church was built and an independent community established.

[17] *Hospital de Jesús*, Leg. 289, Exp. 100. The fact that *four* barrios are mentioned is particularly significant, for it agrees with the account of Durán and other chroniclers who describe the early Nahua tribes as being divided into four units. The four barrios, rather than the present-day barrios, may well have been the ancient *calpulli*.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

433 But despite this roster of familiar traits, the Tepoztecan economic system is quite distinctive and defies easy classification in terms of our traditional categories, such as capitalistic or feudal. For side by side with the above traits are less familiar ones such as communal land-ownership, collective labor, hoe culture, production primarily for subsistence, barter, the absence of credit institutions, the lack of capital, the fear of displaying wealth, and the continued importance of religion and ritual in economic pursuits.

174 433 A complicating factor, and in terms of our own society a differentiating one, is that the Tepoztecan economy and technology represent a fusion of elements from three distinct historical levels: the pre-Hispanic, the Spanish colonial, and the modern western European. Furthermore, it is not always possible to ascertain with assurance which trait belongs to which level. While some traits are found in both the pre-Hispanic and post-Conquest periods, the function and meaning of the trait would seem to have been so different in the total economies of these distinct periods that equating the two is hardly justified. For example, while private property in land may have existed before the Conquest, it is questionable whether it was widespread or played the same role in the total economy and in the aspirations of the people that it does today. And though wealth differences undoubtedly existed at that time, the criteria of wealth as well as its distribution were probably very different from the present. Also, while the market system is probably pre-Hispanic there is a world of difference between the present-day market, which reflects international price changes, and the more localized pre-Hispanic markets.

PRE-CONQUEST AND SPANISH-COLONIAL ECONOMY

172 433 Specific data on the pre-Conquest economics of Tepoztlán are quite limited. The archeological evidence indicates the presence of potsherds from distant areas of Mexico and would therefore suggest wide trading contacts.

Archaeological research carried out in Tepoztlán in 1942-43 by Miss Florencia Muller revealed six ceramic levels and indicated similarities in ceramics with southern Morelos, Vera Cruz, Teotihuacan, Monte Alban, and points even farther south.[1]

175 433 The *Relación* suggests that Tepoztlán was a stratified society of nobles and commoners, not unlike Aztec society, with class differences affecting diet, clothing, marriage customs, and other aspects of life. It also contains scattered references which give us some idea of local foods, industries, and other economic pursuits. The following excerpts contain the pertinent data.

> . . . and they had wars with those of the town of *Capihtlan* and of the town of *Cuauhnava,* and they fought with their feathered weapons and beneath their *escuahupiles* of quilted cotton, and the garments of feathers, some like lions and others like tigers, and others like birds, with their wide wooden sabres, like swords, and the blades were of flint that they might cut, and their bucklers of feathers and others with their bows and

[1] I am grateful to Miss Muller for the summary of her findings; see Appendix B, p. 453.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

B. *THE CERAMIC SEQUENCE OF TEPOZTLÁN*

BY FLORENCIA MULLER

172

THE STUDY of the potsherds excavated in Tepoztlán during the two field seasons of 1942-43 gave rise to the following hypotheses: (1) Tepoztlán was a frontier town on the peripheral zone of two different types of cultures, one from the Mexican highlands and the other from the coastal lands and the south; (2) Tepoztlán was the entrance for the influences from the valley of Mexico.

The sherds extracted from the excavations fell into six levels, which have been numbered I to VI. The oldest was named Tepoztlán I.

The potsherds of this period showed similarities to those of Xochicalco, Gualupita I and the Cerro del Venado, Chimalacatlan, in the valley of Morelos. During this period, Tepoztlán had relations with Middle Zacatenco and Ticoman of the valley of Mexico. Nevertheless, the presence of other wares indicated trade with the valley of Toluca, as well as with the site of Tres Zapotes of the state of Veracruz. Resemblances were also found with the wares of Monte Alban I, and with the state of Guerrero. Although very little is known of the archaeology of the state of Guerrero, some green stone figurines of Tepoztlán seem to be similar to those from this state.

Evidence. Xochicalco: Orange ware, and red on dark brown. Cerro del Venado: Red on orange and orange ware. Gualupita I: Black and dark brown ware with simple and composite silhouette bowls and jars, figurines D and K of Vaillant's classification. Valley of Mexico—Middle Zacatenco and Ticoman: Buff ware, orange ware, figurines D and C. Monte Alban I: Jar with ribbon handles near lip, green stone *penate*. Valley of Toluca: Matlazinca ware, figurine, type O.

For the next level, or Tepoztlán II, analogies were found with Teotihuacan I and II, Gualupita II, Cerro del Venado, and Xochicalco.

Evidence. Teotihuacan I: Brown ware, dark and light; tripod bowls with flat bottoms, small conical solid supports, cups and figurines diagnostic of this period. Gualupita II: Brown and black ware. Cerro del Venado: Orange ware. Xochicalco: Red on orange ware highly polished.

For the following levels, or Tepoztlán III and IV, relations seemed to have been more important with Teotihuacan, in lesser degree with Xochicalco, Cerro del Venado, and the valley of Toluca.

Evidence. Teotihuacan: Brown ware, orange hard ware with annular supports, slab feet, *incensarios*. Xochicalco: Red on orange, Cerro del Venado: Hard orange ware. Valley of Toluca: Matlatzinca ware with high supports.

The fifth level is the most interesting due to the great variety of types of wares, found during this period, not only in colors but in forms.

The sherds which showed relations with Xochicalco or Cerro del Venada have disappeared. But analogies were found with Coyotlatelco, Colhuacan, Tula, Valley of Toluca, Cholula, the Huasteca area, and other parts of Veracruz. Also relations were found with the wares of the highlands of the Mixteca, Oax, and as far south as Zacualpa, Guatemala.

Evidence. Coyotlatelco: Red on orange or buff, black on red. Azteca I: Black on orange, figurines Azteca I. Valley of Toluca: Matlatzinca ware, red on cream, three armed jars. Cholula: Laca, black on orange ware. Huasteca: White ware, pink ware. Highlands of Veracruz: Fine orange. Mixteca area: Porous orange ware. For the first

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

172 time spindle clay whorls, chile grinder tripod bowls, *comales* (tortilla griddles) are found. Also the important tripod bowl with effigy supports appeared. This last mentioned ware has a very wide and interesting distribution. In Tepoztlán the characteristic type is the serpent-head support. This same type is found in Zacualpa, Guatemala, as well as in Cholula. Effigy leg supports are found in Alta Verapaz, Guatemala, Monte Alban V, in the Mixteca area of Oaxaca, Isla de Sacrificios, and Cerro Montoso of Veracruz. Other examples of effigy legs are found as far south as Nicoya, Costa Rica; Nicaragua; and the site of Chiriqui, Panama. How much of this distribution was due to trade, or to cultural influences, is hard to determine. Nevertheless, it is a very important element; in some places like Zacualpa and Tepoztlán, it is just as diagnostic of this period as is fine orange or plumbate.

In the last level, or Tepoztlán VI, all these wares have disappeared. The period is dominated by the Azteca wares III and IV with other associate wares of this period, as well as that of the Mixteca area.

Evidence. Valley of Mexico: Black on orange ware Azteca III and Azteca IV, polichrome. Mixteca: Porous orange.

As a summary, it can be stated that Tepoztlán seemed to be located in the peripheral zone of two different types of cultures, one from the highland and the other from the coasts and the south. It was through this site that the highland cultures filtered into the valley of Morelos. During the fifth level, which corresponds roughly to around 900 A.D., this site seemed to have reached its climax. But it declined under the dominance of the Méxicas and their allies during the sixth period. In this period Tepoztlán seems to have lost all its importance to Cuernavaca.